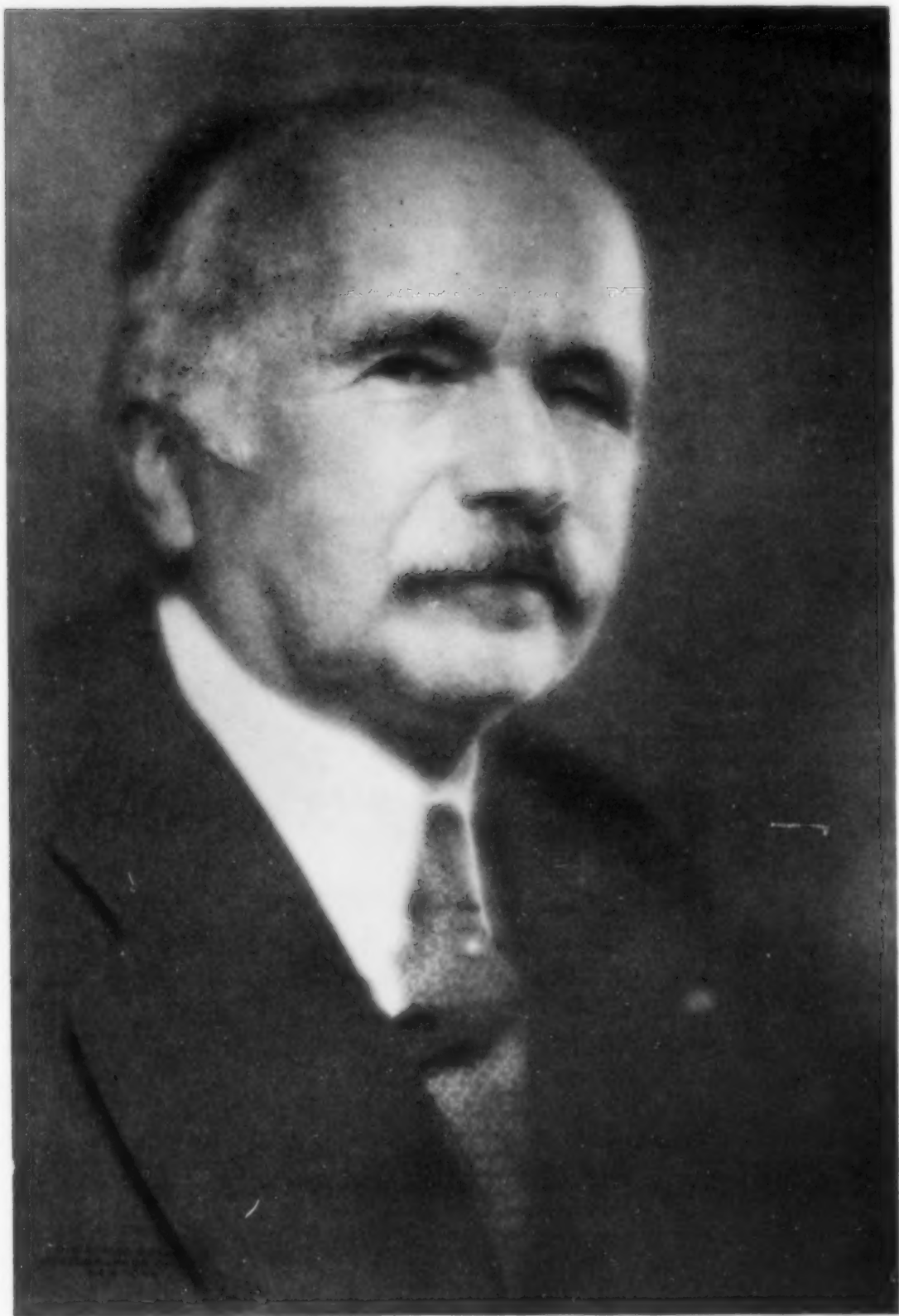


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FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

1868-1953

ON November eleventh of this year, Frank Jewett Mather, Jr. died. A graduate of Williams College and of Johns Hopkins University, he began a distinguished career in journalism and art criticism. Associated with the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University since 1910, he took over the directorship of the Art Museum, then known as the Museum of Historic Art, from its founder, Allan Marquand. From 1922 until his retirement in 1946 he built up the Museum to the high rank that it holds today among university museums. A collector of pictures and drawings himself, he was generous in giving to the Museum the best in his own collection from time to time, so that at his death most of his finest Italian drawings were already in its possession. He never lost his interest in nor his contact with the Museum during the years of his retirement. His last visit was within ten days of his death.

An inspiring writer, lecturer and raconteur, he is remembered by the many who had the privilege of studying with him. The Museum in particular wishes to acknowledge its heavy debt to him which cannot be measured in words.

E.T.D.

## MICHELANGELO'S PIETÀ COMPOSITION FOR VITTORIA COLONNA

WHEN Michelangelo became acquainted, around 1538, with Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara, who was the widow of the imperial general Ferrante Francesco d'Avalos, and a descendant of one of the oldest families of Italy, both were already well along in years. The Master was more than sixty, and the Marchesa fifteen years younger. Their acquaintance soon developed into a glowing, but pure, affection characterized by mutual admiration for the lofty moral and spiritual qualities of each other.

Vittoria Colonna, a deeply religious spirit, had at that time already lived for some years in retirement in monasteries "to be able to serve God more quietly"—as Carnesecchi said it. The magic influence which this woman exercised on her contemporaries is well summarized by Giberti: "Not only does she surpass all other woman, but moreover, she seems to show the most serious and most celebrated men the light which is a guide to the bay of salvation." (Similar judgments on Vittoria Colonna are cited by other contemporaries, e.g. Castiglione, Francisco de Hollanda).

She had belonged, since the mid-thirties, to the circle of cultivated men and women of the high secular and clerical society which aimed at the inner reform of the Church. The essential point of the creed of this group consisted of a new conception of salvation: they believed in the justification by faith alone independent of works and religious practices.

Vittoria Colonna comforted and guided Michelangelo in his religious torments and became for him the instrument of his moral perfection. The Marchesa herself wrote numerous religious and moralizing sonnets (*Canzoniere spirituale*) and inspirèd as well some of the artist's deepest religious poems. Michelangelo, also, presented to her several drawings of religious subjects, among which Condivi and Vasari mention a *Christ with the Samaritan Woman*, a *Crucified Christ*, and a composition representing the *Dead Christ* supported by two putti and resting between the knees of the Virgin. On the cross, Condivi says, is an inscription indicating the words of the Virgin: "Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa," a sentence taken

from Dante's *Paradiso*, XXIX, v.91. Condivi adds that the cross resembled that of the Bianchi at the time of the plague in 1348 which was then located in the church of Santa Croce.<sup>1</sup> Vasari briefly repeats what Condivi wrote and mentions, in the life of Marcantonio, a print published by Lafreri (it is a print executed by Beatrizet).<sup>2</sup> These descriptions enable one to identify the composition of which the original and numerous copies exist.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Condivi, 1553: "Fece à requisitione di questa Signora un Christo ignudo, quando è tolto di croce, il quale come corpo morto abbandonato, cascherebbe à piedi della sua santissima madre, se da due angioletti non fusse sostenuto à braccia. Ma ella sotto la croce stando à sedere con volto lacrimoso et dolente, alza al cielo ambe le mani à braccia aperte, con un cotal detto, che nel troncon della croce scritto si legge: 'Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa.' La croce è simile a quella che da i Bianchi nel tempo della moria del Trecento quarant'otto era portata in processione, che poi fu posta nella chiesa di Santa Croce di Firenze." (Cf. Condivi, ed. C. Frey, *Le Vite di Michelangelo Buonarroti scritte da G. Vasari e da A. Condivi*, Berlin, 1887, p. 202.)

<sup>2</sup> Vasari (ed. Frey, p. 249) 1568: "le [Vittoria Colonna] disegno Michelangelo una Pietà in grembo alla Nostra Donna con dua angioletti, mirabilissima . . ." In the Vita di Marcantonio Bolognese, Vasari says: "Sono poi da altri state intagliate molte cose, cavate da Michelangelo à requisizione d'Antonio Lanferri, che ha tenuto stampatori per simile essercizio, i quali hanno mandato fuori . . . la Pietà e il Crocifisso, fatti da Michelangelo alla marchesana di Pescara . . ." (ed. Frey, p. 344).

<sup>3</sup> This list of copies of the Pietà of Vittoria Colonna amends in several instances the previous one by Thode, *Michelangelo, Kritische Untersuchungen*, II, Berlin, 1908, pp. 492ff., but does not pretend to be complete.

A) *Drawings*: 1) Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. H., 0.295 m.; W., 0.195 m. Fig. 1, reproduced here through the courtesy of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. Hitherto considered a copy, this sheet is, in our opinion, the original presented by Michelangelo to Vittoria Colonna. Mounted; very damaged, partly by water spots. Provenience: Brunet Collection, Paris; Woodburne Exhibition Catalogue, July 1836, no. 64; Lawrence and Brooke Collections, acquired by Francis Turner Palgrave. Palgrave Sale at Christie's June 4, 1886; acquired by Sir Charles Robinson. Robinson Sale, London May 13, 1902, no. 206, bought by Messrs. Agnew and Sons for Mrs. Gardner; watermark: a ladder within a circle (I owe this information to Mr. Morris Carter, Director of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum). The museum labels the drawing "by a follower of Michelangelo, ca. 1530." Robinson considered it an original.

Not listed by Thode; mentioned as a copy by Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* I, Chicago, 1938, p. 235, no. 1623 c; repr. 736.

B) *Engravings*: 2) Giulio Bonasone. 1546. Bartsch XV, p. 127, no. 64, Fig. 2.

3) Nicolas Beatrizet. 1547, published by Lafreri. Bartsch XV, p. 251, no. 25. Mentioned by Vasari. Fig. 3, reproduced through the courtesy of the Albertina, Vienna.

4) G. B. de Cavalieri. Le Blanc, *Manuel*, I, p. 616, no. 16. Fig. 4, reproduced through the courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

5) Agostino Carracci. 1579. Bartsch XVIII, p. 94, no. 103. We reproduce here (Figs. 5 and 6) two states both through the courtesy of the Bibliothèque Na-



tionale, Paris. The first state, to which Mr. Jean Adhémar of the Bibliothèque Nationale has kindly called the author's attention, is perhaps identical with the print listed as being by an unknown master by Passerini, *La Bibliografia di M. Buonarroti*, Florence, 1875, p. 199.

6) Martino Rota. Le Blanc, *Manuel*, III, p. 367, no. 31.

7) G. Pencz—signed "G.P." mentioned in Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, III, p. 72, no. 239, and Steinmann, *Festschrift P. Clemen*, p. 425f. Inscription "Novi [sic] si pensa quanto sangue costa." No copy known today. Not in Thode.

(The print by M. Kartarus [Bartsch XV, p. 524, no. 9] 1566—mentioned in Thode's list—reproduces not this composition, but the Pietà from which Sebastiano del Piombo made his painting in Viterbo.)

C) *Paintings*: 8) Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (probably the panel which was formerly in Schleissheim, no. 3555). Fig. 7, reproduced through the courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung.

9) Rome, Galleria Borghese. By Marcello Venusti (cf. G. Bernardini, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1912, p. 93; A. Venturi, *Il Museo e la Galleria Borghese*, no. 422). Fig. 9.

10) Basle, Collection of the late Dr. M. Schmid-Paganini. H., 0.124 m. W., 0.60 m. Signed: M.B. Inventor. Marcellus Venusto. Unknown to us. Fig. 10, reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. M. Schmid, Basle.

11) Florence, Uffizi (Magazzini). Unknown to us.

12) Florence, Casa Buonarroti. Mid-sixteenth century copy. Fig. 8, reproduced through the courtesy of Prof. Ugo Procacci.

13) Arezzo, Casa Vasari. Free copy of the 3rd quarter of the sixteenth century. Fig. 11, reproduced through the courtesy of Prof. Ugo Procacci.

14) Rome, Castel S. Angelo. Weak copy.

15) Formerly Gotha, Herzogliches Museum. Panel 48 x 60 cm. Sold in 1943. Whereabouts unknown. By a Flemish master. (Cf. Thode, *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, III, 1890, p. 254 ["eseguita nella maniera di Lambert Lombard"]; *Katalog der Herzogl. Gemäldgalerie*, Gotha, 1890, no. 494.) Fig. 12, reproduced through the courtesy of the Zentralmuseum für Biologie, Gotha.

16) Gubbio, Museo (cf. Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, II, p. 501). Unknown to us.

17) Formerly Ragusa (cf. H. Grimm, "Ein Oelgemälde Michelangelos," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* [Zahn] I, 1868, pp. 62ff.). Unknown to us.

18) Formerly Bremen, Kunsthalle. Disappeared during the last war.

19) Rome, Santa Maria in Aracoeli. By Marco da Siena (free copy, completed by the figures of St. John and the Virgin).

20) Formerly Florence, Collection R. P. Gatteschi (cf. Colasanti, *Marzocco*, XVI, 1911, no. 17; R. P. Gatteschi, *Di una storica Pietà attribuita a Michelangelo*, Viareggio, 1911, and Steinmann, *Bibliographie*, no. 785).

D) *Reliefs*: 21) Vatican Museo Cristiano. Marble. H., 0.33 m., W., 0.29 m. Fig. 14. Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, II, Munich, 1905, p. 502, fig. 223 (published here for the first time). H. Thode, *Michelangelo Kritische Untersuchungen*, II, 1908, p. 494. Steinmann, "An unknown Pietà by Michelangelo," *Art Studies*, III, 1925, p. 64. Middeldorf, *Burlington Magazine*, LIII, 1928, p. 305, attributes the relief to Pierino da Vinci and refers to the Virgin Relief in the Museo Archeologico, Milan, as a close analogy. However, the forms of Pierino are more delicate and his technique more systematic. Attributed by A. Venturi (*Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, X, II, 1936, p. 177) to Jacopo del Duca. The Vatican relief probably was made in the workshop of Michelangelo.

22) Rome, Santo Spirito in Sassia, third chapel at the left. Marble. Close in style and technique to Pierino da Vinci. The relief decorates the epitaph of Antonio Foderato (died in 1548). The epitaph was erected through his friend

In an undated letter to Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna mentions a drawing which is probably this Pietà: ". . . Io ebbi grandissima fede in Dio che vi dessi una gratia soprannaturale a far questo Cristo: poi il viddi sì mirabile che superò in tutti i modi ogni mia expecttatione: poi facta animosa dalli miraculi vostri, desiderai quello che hora maravegliosamente vedo adempito, cioè che sta da ogni parte in summa perfectione, et non se potria desiderar più, nè gionger a desiderar tanto. Et ve dico che mi alegro molto che l'angelo da man destra sia assai più bello, perchè il Michele ponerà voi Michel Angelo alla destra del Signore nel di novissimo. Et in questo mezzo io non so come servirvi in altro che in pregarne questo dolce Cristo, che sì bene et perfettamente havete dipinto, et pregar voi me comandate come cosa vostra in tutto et per tutto."<sup>4</sup> This letter clearly indicates the role of Michelangelo's drawings in the religious life of the Marchesa: she believed the works of the artist to be realized by the virtue of divine grace and considered them as objects invested with miraculous forces of divine mercy, which comforted her in her private devotion.<sup>5</sup>

From a letter written by the Bishop of Fano on May 12, 1546, to the Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga one learns that the

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Alessandro Guidiccioni, probably in 1551, the same year he had erected his own epitaph in the same chapel. Hitherto unknown, reproduced here for the first time. Fig. 15.

23) Rome, S. Maria in Monserrato, Sacristy. Bronze. Mentioned in Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, II, p. 501.

24) Aix-en-Provence, Chapelle de l'Archevêché. Probably French, late 16th century.

E) Plaques: 25) The Art Museum, Princeton University. Probably identical with the copy of the Collection Bordini, Sale Catalogue 1902, no. 160, pl. 10. Mentioned by Bange; not in Thode. Cover and Fig. 17.

26) Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Published in E. G. Bange, *Die italienischen Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, Berlin, 1922, II, no. 945, pl. 77. Molinier, *Les Plaquettes*, Paris, 1886, II, no. 756, Fig. 16.

27) Formerly Collection von Lanna, Vienna. Sale Catalogue 1911, II, no. 329, pl. 100. Mentioned by Bange; not in Thode. Fig. 18.

28-29) Florence, Casa Buonarroti. Two other copies, identical with that of the Lanna Collection.

<sup>4</sup> Ferrero-Müller, *Vittoria Colonna, Carteggio*, Torino, 1892, p. 209; Frey, *Dichtungen*, p. 534, doc.iii. The drawing mentioned in this letter could be also the Crucifixion, because here also two angels are on either side of the Christ.

<sup>5</sup> This kind of cult of religious images reverts to the Middle Ages (cf. Hahnloser, "Du culte de l'image au Moyen Age," *Cristianesimo e Ragione di Stato, Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di studi umanistici*, Rome, 1953, p. 225. Hahnloser, however, does not mention the cult images made by Michelangelo for Vittoria Colonna).

Cardinal Pole—spiritual advisor of the Marchesa—was willing to give his drawing of the Pietà of Michelangelo to Ercole Gonzaga when he learned that the latter wanted it. Cardinal Pole would not consider this gift as a loss since he could procure another copy from the Marchesa.<sup>6</sup> Therefore two copies of this composition, both by Michelangelo, must have existed. Probably the Marchesa made a gift to the Cardinal Pole of her copy after having received its replica from Michelangelo.

The two originals mentioned in the above quoted letter seem not to have been identical. The many existing copies form indeed two distinct groups which supposedly revert to the two prototypes.<sup>7</sup> The original of the earlier version is, in our opinion, undoubtedly preserved in the drawing now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston (Fig. 1). It is a black chalk drawing in bad condition, and cut at the top and bottom. At the top originally the whole cross was visible as described by Condivi. This is a presentation sheet executed with loving care and soft "sfumato" peculiar to this category of drawings made by Michelangelo for Cavalieri and Vittoria Colonna. It is characteristic of the Master that the group appears isolated without landscape background. Only the rocks emerge in the foreground forming a pedestal, but no horizon is visible. The fluent modeling of the corpse in contrast to the analytical tendency in the copies, the inner logic of even the smallest fold, the expressive face of Christ with the broad, firm nose, the dreamy and sad expression of the putti with half closed eyes, and the Virgin's face where the tragic pain appears without any theatrical exaggeration, are all characteristic of Michelangelo. It should not be excluded that the inscription on the cross may be Michelangelo's own: he wrote it with the sheet in vertical position and this may explain why some letters are different from his normal handwriting.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> "Monsignor Polo ha per notizia, chella desidera un Cristo di mano di Michelangelo, et hamme imposto, che io intenda secretamente la verità di cotal suo desiderio: perchè essendo in effetto, egli ne ha uno di mano propria del detto, che volentieri glielo manderebbe; ma è in forma di Pietà, pure se gli vede tutto il corpo. Dice, che questo non sarebbe un privarsene, perciocchè dalla marchesa di Pescara ne può havere un altro." (K. Frey, *Michelangelo, Quellen und Forschungen*, Berlin, 1907, I, p. 139.)

<sup>7</sup> To our knowledge this fact has not yet been observed in the literature.

<sup>8</sup> Concerning the provenance see our list, Note 3, no. 1.



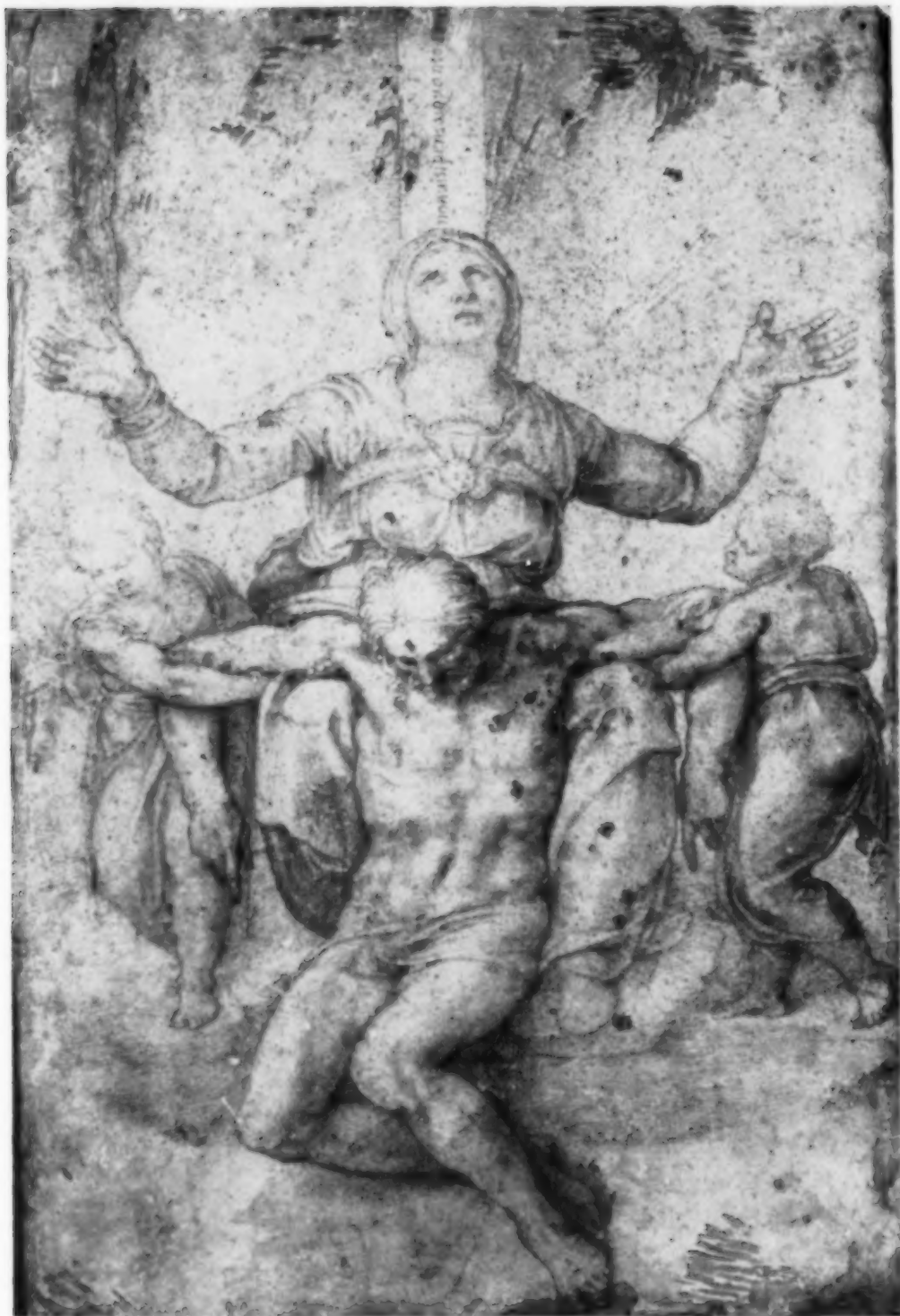


Figure 1. Drawing by Michelangelo in the  
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

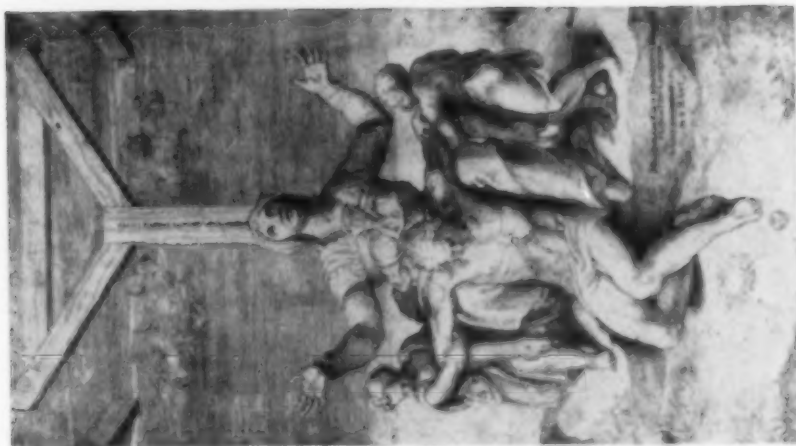


Fig. 2. Print by  
Giulio Bonasone

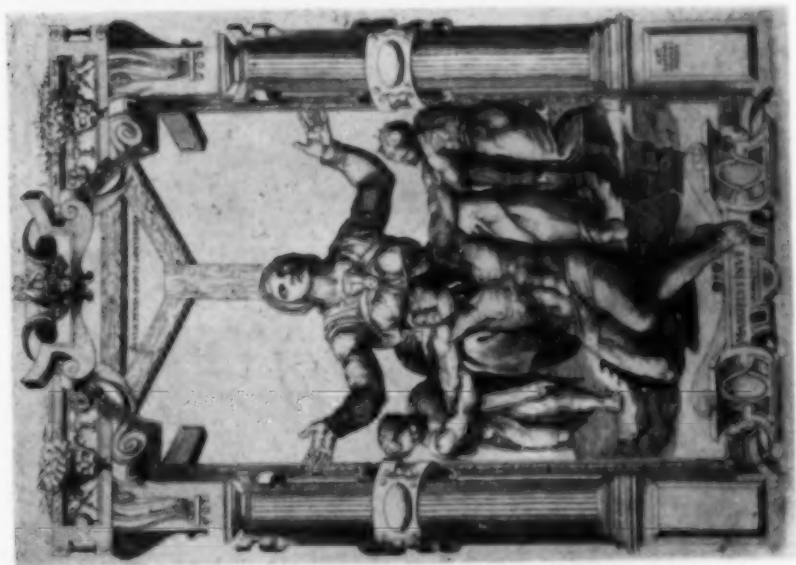


Fig. 3. Print by Nicolas  
Beatrixet



Fig. 4. Print by  
G. B. de Cavalieri

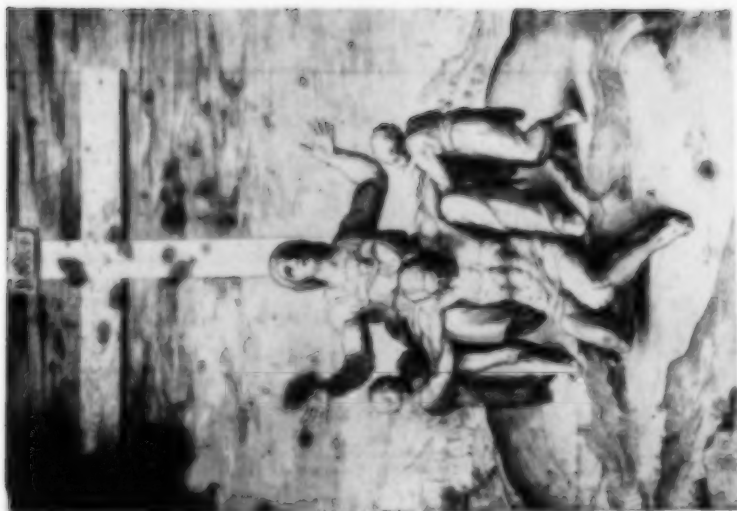


Fig. 6. Print by Agostino Carracci, Second State



Fig. 5. Print by Agostino Carracci, First State



Fig. 7. Painting in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung, Munich



Fig. 8. Painting in the Casa Buonarroti, Florence



Fig. 9. Painting by Marcello Venusti in the Galleria  
Borghese, Rome



Fig. 10. Painting in the Schmid Collection, Basle





Fig. 11. Painting in the Casa Vasari, Arezzo



Fig. 12. Painting formerly in Gotha



Fig. 13. Painting by El Greco in The Hispanic Society of America, New York



Fig. 14. Relief in the Vatican  
(Museo Cristiano)

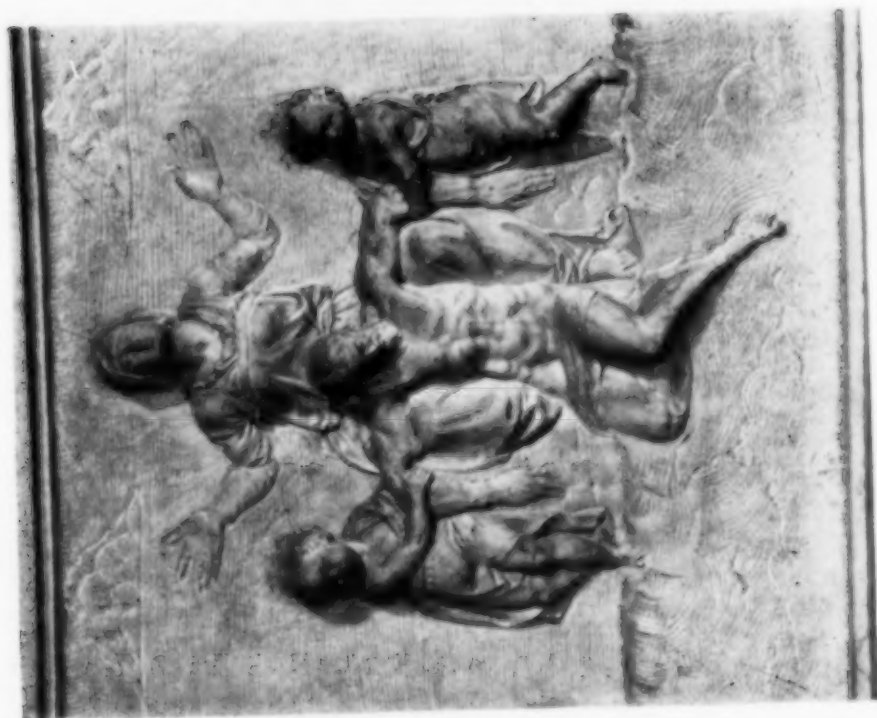


Fig. 15. Relief in S. Spirito  
in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 16. Plaque in the  
Kaiser Friedrich  
Museum, Berlin



Fig. 17. Plaque in Princeton



Fig. 18. Plaque formerly in  
The Lanna Collection,  
Vienna

The original drawing of the second version is lost. The unfinished marble relief in the Vatican (Fig. 14) seems to have been made in the workshop of the Master and its technique with the cross-hatchings of the toothed chisel is that of Michelangelo. The modeling is rather weak. Probably an assistant (however neither Pierino da Vinci, nor Jacopo del Duca), began this relief and Michelangelo intended to finish it. In any case a drawing, which is now lost, should be supposed as serving as a model for this relief.

There are conspicuous differences between the two versions. In the drawing the hands of Christ hang lifelessly whereas in the relief they are stiffly outstretched and the right hand makes the gesture of benediction. In the drawing the right foot of Christ is visible behind the left, whereas in the relief it can scarcely be seen. The hands of the Virgin make a gesture of despair in the drawing, but in the plastic copies the fingers are spread in the gesture of an orant. The Virgin's foot which is covered in the drawing is bare in the relief. The putto at the right is seen in profile in the drawing but is frontal in the plastic copies and the drapery of this putto is also different. All the prints and painting copies, on the one hand, derive directly or indirectly from the Boston drawing and all the reliefs and plaques, on the other, derive directly or indirectly from the Vatican relief.

In general it may be said that in the Boston drawing (Fig. 1) the scene is conceived as a symbolic event: it is a "mystic winepress" with a rotary movement around Christ; in the relief (Fig. 14) it is a cult image where Christ is more ostentatiously presented to the beholder. One may conclude that the drawing in Boston is probably the first version and the relief in the Vatican reverts to the second version of Michelangelo.

The Princeton Museum has recently acquired a gilded bronze plaque representing this composition (Cover and Fig. 17).<sup>9</sup> It is in a mid-sixteenth century bronze frame, the ornamentation of which recalls Venetian frames, and has been attributed to Jacopo Sansovino. Exactly the same frame can be found around a plaque representing a Coronation of the Virgin in

<sup>9</sup> Purchased with the Caroline G. Mather Fund. Accession number 52-91. H., 0.132 m.; W., 0.087 m. (With the frame: H., 0.179 m.; W., 0.125 m.)



the Berlin Museum,<sup>10</sup> a plaque with the same subject and another with the Pietà in the Bardini sale of 1902<sup>11</sup> and one in Venice, Museo Correr, mentioned by Bange.<sup>12</sup> On the back of this plaque a handle is fitted. The plaque served therefore originally as a Pax proffered by the priest or acolyte to the congregation to be kissed after the Mass.<sup>13</sup>

The provenience of the Princeton plaque is unknown; it was recently acquired in a sale in New York. One may suppose that the example with identical frame, in the Bardini Collection in Florence, sold in 1902, is actually the Princeton plaque. Besides this one there are four other plaques of the same subject known today: there is one in Berlin similar to that in Princeton, but without the frame (Fig. 16), and there are three weak copies, cut at the top and without clouds and cross and in an early baroque frame. One of these latter was formerly in the Lanna Collection in Vienna (Fig. 18)<sup>14</sup> and two are still in the Casa Buonarroti in Florence. Like all the plastic copies the plaques also give the stiffer hieratical conception, with the Virgin as an orant, the Christ giving benediction and the symmetrically corresponding putti who present for the cult this body to the beholder.

Some observations may be made concerning the affiliation of the copies. Among them three engravings seem to revert to the original drawing: 1) The print of Bonasone of 1546 (Fig. 2) has still something of the soft chiaroscuro of the original and the cross has the form mentioned by Condivi. In the details this copy is somewhat vague: the folds of the Virgin's robe lack the clarity of the model. 2) Beatrizet's print of 1547 (Fig. 3), although different in its style, has certain details, such as the right-hand child, which are closer to the original than Bonasone. Beatrizet's sheet, including the frame, in turn, served as a model for Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri (Fig. 4). 3) In Agostino Carracci's engraving of 1579 (Figs. 5, 6) details of the Virgin's dress, such as the eight pearls above the cherubim's head and the folds below it, are quite exactly

<sup>10</sup> Bange, *op.cit.*, no. 944.

<sup>11</sup> See Note 3, no. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Bange, *op.cit.*, no. 105a.

<sup>13</sup> This fact has been brought to our attention by Mr. Robert Koch.

<sup>14</sup> See Note 3, no. 27.

copied, while they are misunderstood by the two other copyists. The landscape in the background has been added by Agostino Carracci.

Among the paintings, the Munich panel (Fig. 7) alone seems to revert to the original drawing. Minor details like the folds on the Virgin's breast and left knee, the folds of the drapery of the child at the right, the crown of thorns, are more exactly rendered than in the other copies. This panel, in turn, might have served as a model for Venusti's copy (Fig. 9) in which the types are more refined (Borghese Gallery, Rome). The rather weak panel of the Casa Buonarroti (Fig. 8) seems to revert to the Bonasone print.

Among the copies of the lost second drawing of Michelangelo the closest to the original is, as has been said above, the Vatican relief, in which the faces of the Virgin and Christ are close to Michelangelo (Fig. 14). The marble relief in Santo Spirito in Sassia, made around 1551 (Fig. 15), is farther from the master in its almost pictorial technique and its more elegant and slender figure types reminiscent of Pierino da Vinci's style. The rock of the foreground is, in this replica, interpreted as a cloud. The plaques in Princeton and Berlin (Figs. 16 and 17) probably revert to the Vatican relief of which they are a schematization, and finally the three weak plaques revert to those at Princeton and Berlin.

All these copies obviously do not give an idea of the qualities of the two originals. Nevertheless, they are interesting because they show the survival and reinterpretation of a Michelangelo idea by contemporary artists. In the mid-sixteenth century there was a reaction against the softness of the style of the late Michelangelo, and Beatrizet (Fig. 3) and Cavalieri (Fig. 4) "emended" the model according to an intransigent, crude and hard plastic ideal. In these prints, indeed, the stiffness of the bodies and drapery as well as the hardness of the rocks is almost metallic. It is the style of the young Michelangelo of the Battle of Cascina (1504) according to which Michelangelo's Pietà, made about forty years later, is now remodelled. Simultaneously other artists like Venusti (Fig. 9) and Bonasone (Fig. 2) tried to exploit the pictorial possibilities in Michelangelo's late style. It is characteristic from this point of view that Venusti completed the composition by adding a landscape

which is here still a relatively discreet background but which becomes later in the hands of the Flemish artist, who made the copy formerly in Gotha (Fig. 12), an important setting. As late as around 1579 Agostino Carracci (Figs. 5, 6) assimilated the soft manner of the late Michelangelo adding the preference for circular forms probably under the influence of Raphael and Correggio.

No one, with the exception of Greco, has understood the religious deepness of the expressions of Michelangelo's Pietà. All the copyists have interpreted the Virgin as a pathetic actress and did not grasp the beauty of her lonely tearless suffering. In his paintings (in the Philadelphia Museum and in the Hispanic Society of America in New York, Fig. 13<sup>15</sup>), Greco has fused Michelangelo's Pietà in the Cathedral of Florence, from which he took the general configuration of the compact group in the form of a triangle, the body of Christ and the two supporting figures, with the Vittoria Colonna Pietà, from which he has borrowed the lonely Virgin at the summit, turned toward heaven with a sorrowful expression. It is not only the composition which is here inspired by Michelangelo, but also the spirit of the group.

The origin of this composition, curious for a Pietà, can, perhaps, be explained best as a fusion of two iconographical types: the Virgin with the Child placed between her knees, and Christ in his grave supported by two angels. Such Virgins, which suggest that the Child is still protected in the maternal womb, Michelangelo made in his youth (the Virgin of Bruges and sketches in London and Paris). In the Pietà Michelangelo substituted the body of Christ for the Child. The supporting angel-putti derive from a North Italian tradition (Donatello's relief in Padova and paintings by Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini).

The whole composition reminds one of a Trinity type, for example, Dürer's woodcut of 1511 (Bartsch 22) or Agostino Veneto's print of 1516 (Bartsch 40) after Andrea del Sarto influenced by Dürer's woodcut. This resemblance Michelangelo himself might have felt, since he adapted his later Pietà in the Duomo in Florence even more to this Trinity type.

<sup>15</sup> Fig. 13 is reproduced through the courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America.

Michelangelo created in the Pietà of Vittoria Colonna a severe, somewhat stiff symmetrical composition accentuating the upward movement of the Virgin's head and arms in contrast to the downward tendency of the body of Christ. The whole pattern presents a cross built by human bodies.

The Pietà which Michelangelo created for San Pietro in his youth showed a traditional composition: the Dead Christ lying on the lap of the Virgin. The accent was placed on the Virgin. In both versions of the Pietà of Vittoria Colonna, on the contrary, it is Christ who becomes the center of the composition. The Virgin shows her grief by her gesture of despair and seems to evoke the immensity of the sacrifice, and the angels are an echo of this grief. The harmonious beauty of the group of the first Pietà of San Pietro is absent in the Colonna versions. These are no longer the artistic translation of a concrete and human situation into a plastic group, but religious symbols.

Since the sacrifice of Christ is the focal point of the belief of justification by faith alone, it is probable that Michelangelo now put the body of Christ in the center to create a plastic equivalent of this doctrine:

"O carne, o sangue, o legnio, o doglia strema,  
Giusto per vo' si facci el mio peccato."

"Oh Flesh, Oh Blood, Oh Wood (of the Cross), Oh Extreme  
Suffering,

"Through you my sin be made just."

(Frey, *Dichtungen des Michelangiolo* no. CLXV.)

Charles de Tolnay



## AN "EAST GREEK" JUG

AT the end of the Bronze Age and as iron was coming into general use, the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean lived in a world of social and economic disorganization. Great empires had expanded and fallen apart, leaving heroic tales for the poets and material remains for the archaeologists, but little for the immediate survivors. In their places were tight communities toiling for a frugal existence and fearful of all who might jeopardize their momentary security. The poverty is very evident archaeologically. In the Aegean area, where the wealth of the Mycenaean civilization still astonishes the visitor with gold and palace-fortresses, there is little besides pottery to represent the ensuing centuries. But within these bleak generations the Geometric Period represents recovery from the doldrums of the Sub-Mycenaean era. Some of the pottery, at Athens in particular, is handsome and technically competent. Reestablishment of communications, with Corinth working toward commercial leadership, was also part of the renaissance. By the eighth century B.C. the Greek world had reached a point of receptivity, artistically and economically, to be completely overwhelmed by the art of the middle east. Ivories, metalwork, textiles, all easily transported, were shipped to eagerly awaiting Greek communities which were beginning to spread as colonies both east and west. The outlet was perhaps North Syria, and Corinth one of the first recipients.<sup>1</sup>

The impact of the "orientalizing style" sooner or later marked the products of the leading ceramic centers, particularly Corinth, Athens, and the "East Greek" towns. The neat, small wares of Corinth, transported the length and breadth of the Mediterranean by extraordinary commercial enterprise, have been studied in detail.<sup>2</sup> Those of Athens, large, exuberant, and seldom carried beyond their native Attica, have also been worked over to the point of distinguishing hands of various painters.<sup>3</sup> But the "East Greek" pottery, as the name implies,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. M. Cook, "Ionia and Greece, 800-600 B.C.," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* LXVI, 1946, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Knud Friis Johansen, *Les vases sikyoniens*, Paris, 1923. Humfrey G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931. Saul S. Weinberg, *Corinth VII, 1, The Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1943.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Cook, "Proto Attic Pottery," *Annual of the British School at Athens*



is still dealt with in generalities in spite of considerable progress in distinguishing the output of certain towns along the Anatolian coast and on the adjacent islands.<sup>4</sup> "Wild Goat Style," a descriptive title for the orientalizing pottery of the region with no geographical commitments, is colorful, decorative, and winsome. At the same time it is monotonous and often poor in execution, as though the draughtsmen had wearied of the endless rows of goats, deer, and waterbirds, waterbirds, deer, and goats. Slight differences in style show that "Wild Goat" pottery was made in more than one place and a first-hand study of the fabric at several sites will undoubtedly localize many more variants. Some of the finest examples come from the island of Rhodes and for this reason the ware is often called Rhodian.<sup>5</sup>

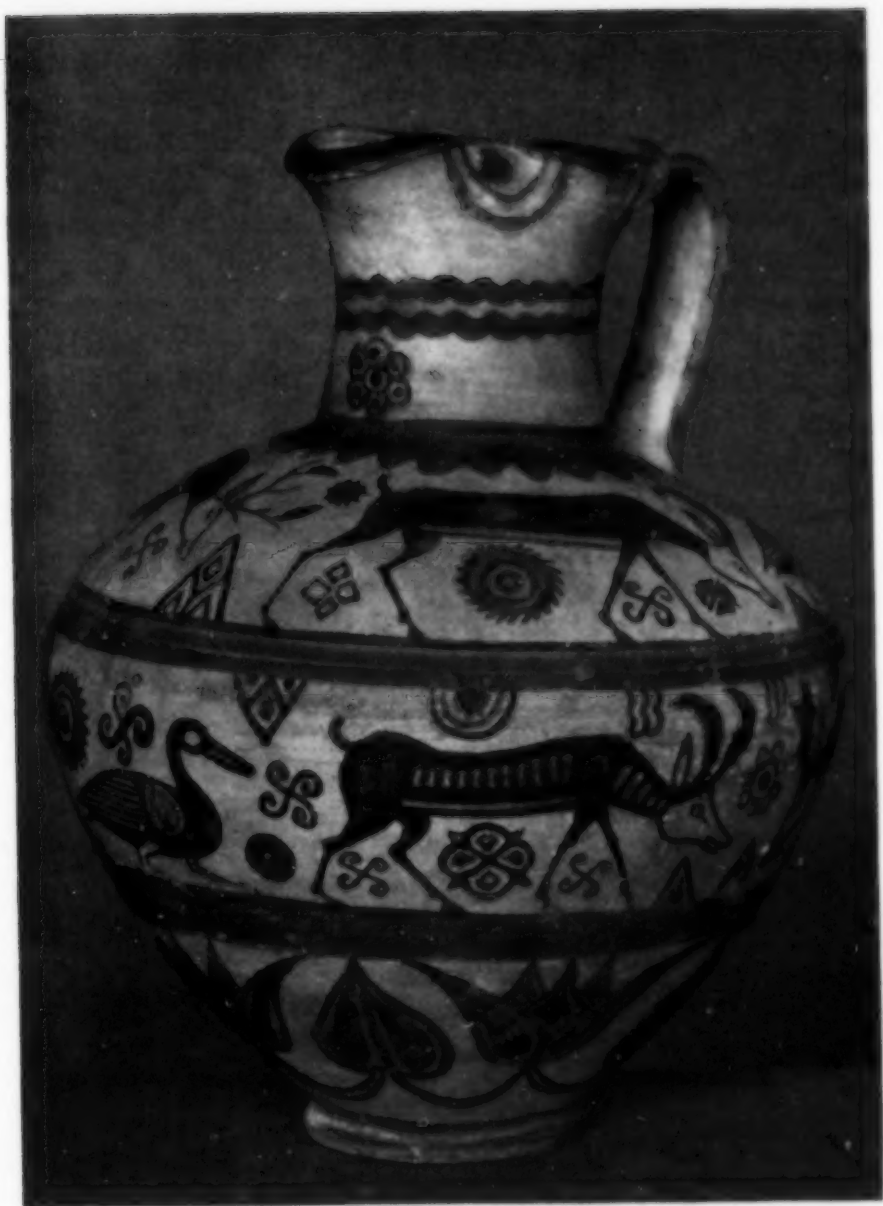
A jug of this classification has been purchased by The Art Museum with The Caroline G. Mather Fund.<sup>6</sup> The sturdy form with broad ovoid body and trefoil mouth is one of those most commonly encountered. The decoration is painted on a light buff slip in matt red and brown-black: a zone of lotus flower and bud at the base, a band of four goats and waterbirds on the body, three goats and a bird on the shoulder. Both animal friezes are strewn with circles, triangles, and other filling ornaments which produce the tapestry effect characteristic of the orientalizing wares. The Princeton jug, however, will

XXXV, 1934-5, pp. 165-219. R. Eilmann and K. Gebauer, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Germany 2, Berlin 1, Munich, 1938.

<sup>4</sup> E. R. Price, "Pottery of Naucratis," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XXIV, 1924, pp. 180ff. Werner Technau, "Griechische Keramik im samischen Heraion," *Atthenische Mitteilungen* 54, 1929, pp. 18ff. F. and H. Miltner, "Bericht über eine Voruntersuchung in Alt-Smyrna," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* XXVII, 1931-32, Beiblatt 178ff. Andreas Rumpf, "Zu den klazomenischen Denkmäler," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* XLVIII, 1933, pp. 55ff. R. M. Cook, "Fikellura Pottery," *Annual of the British School at Athens* XXIV, 1933-34, p. 2, note 1; "Ionia and Greece, 800-600 B.C.," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* LXVI, 1946, pp. 93-95. M. Robertson, "The Excavations at Al Mina, Sueidia IV. The Early Greek Vases," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* LX, 1940, pp. 8-16. K. Schefold, "Knidische Vasen und Verwandtes," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* LVII, 1942, pp. 124ff. Chrysoula Kardara, "The Arapides Oinochoe," *American Journal of Archaeology* LVII, 1953, pp. 277ff.

<sup>5</sup> Kinch, *Froulia*. *Clara Rhodos* IV, VI. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, France 1; Italy 9 and 10.

<sup>6</sup> Accession Number, 52-44. H., 0.26 m. Formerly in the collection of Robert Garrett, Baltimore.



not fall into line precisely with published examples of its category. Details in the representation of the animals and the types of field ornament are slightly different. The simple decoration around the neck, three wavy bands and a rosette, takes the place of the elaborate braid design usually employed on such jugs. Another small, but important, variation from the norm is the absence of disks at the junction of handle and lip which imitate the attachments of the metal prototype copied by the clay jug. And the fabric is not quite standard (it, as well as the modified form of the neck, is very suggestive of bichrome pottery made in Cyprus during the seventh century B.C., but the myriads of vases excavated on that island betray not the slightest local interest in "Wild Goat Style"). Whatever provincial variant our jug turns out to be, the Museum is delighted that its vase collection at last has an example of the style.

F.F.J.

## PREHISTORIC EGYPTIAN POTTERY IN THE ART MUSEUM

A group of handmade vessels in Princeton represents several interesting aspects of the pottery and decorative art of prehistoric Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The eleven vessels were acquired as a gift of William C. Hayes '25. One of them, 30-482, is from Badari; most of the others are attributed to Gebelein. The first site consists of a series of cemetery and village areas located on low desert spurs near the modern town of Badari; these were scientifically excavated by Brunton and Caton-Thompson in 1922-1925. Gebelein was an important center in both predynastic and historical times; the settlement and cemeteries were excavated by an Italian expedition in 1910-1911 and again for several seasons beginning in 1930. One cemetery tested by the Italians, apparently consisting exclusively of predynastic graves, had been ransacked by illegal diggers. In 1930 the Italians dug some two hundred predynastic graves. Although there are only brief, unillustrated notices of the Italian work and a few scattered publications of individual objects,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that Gebelein contained a great deal of significant predynastic material. Both Badari and Gebelein are located in the south, in Upper Egypt.

In prehistoric times two distinct cultural traditions existed in Egypt, a northern one known from sites near Cairo, on the western edge of the Delta, and in the Fayum; and a southern one covering a much larger area, southern and middle Egypt. The prehistoric cultures of both the north and the south passed through several stages. The sequence in the south is the

<sup>1</sup> I am much indebted to Miss Jones for bringing these vessels to my attention and for providing photographs, profile drawings, and information concerning them.

The following abbreviations are used. *Corpus* = F. Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes*. S.D. = sequence date, referring to the system for the relative dating of predynastic tomb groups developed by Petrie (cf. *Diospolis Parva*, pp. 4-12); S.D. 30-39 comprise the Amratian period, 40-circa 65 the Gerzean period.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* XXI, 1921, pp. 126-128; *Aegyptus* X, 1929, p. 293; *Chronique d'Égypte* VIII, 1933, pp. 107-108; X, 1935, p. 269f.; XI, 1936, pp. 57-58; XII, 1937, p. 169. Jacques de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* I, pls. II, 1-5; III, 1-3; G. Daressy, "Un casse-tête préhistorique en bois de Gebelein," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* XXII, 1922, pp. 17-32.

better known, since, so far, only a few northern sites have been excavated, while upstream there are finds from many cemetery and some village sites. These illustrate a gradual development. It begins with Tasian and Badarian, the periods of the early agricultural settlements, continues with Amratian, a period of flourishing chalcolithic culture, and ends with Gerzean, the period whose complex culture, possessing numerous foreign contacts, was the direct progenitor of the civilization of the unified Egypt of the First Dynasty.

Many contrasts between the southern and northern cultures of prehistoric Egypt are evident. One of the most striking is the almost total absence in the north, so far, of decorated objects or of representational painting on pottery. In contrast, many objects from Upper Egypt convey even today the fervor of the craftsmen who decorated them. All the prehistoric vessels in the Art Museum published here are representative of this Upper Egyptian tradition. The earliest is 30-482 (Figures 1 and 2, A), a black-topped bowl marked by its primitive bag shape and combed surface as a typical pot of the Badarian period. At that time the Black-topped pottery, the hallmark of Upper Egyptian ceramics in predynastic times, became established. The contrasting colors were produced by a double firing of the vessels, which were first burnt red or brown in an oxidizing flame and then placed mouth downwards in smouldering ashes, with the result that interiors and rims were blackened by the carbon-filled smoke.<sup>3</sup> Better-made Badarian vessels were combed with a toothed implement, producing a characteristic decorative rippling, as on 30-482. This technique was abandoned in succeeding periods, though Black-topped pottery continued to be very common.

Later Black-topped pottery is represented in the Princeton collection by 30-481 and 44-60 (Figures 1 and 2, B-C), both being variations of types used throughout the Amratian and Gerzean periods. Dominant features of many predynastic pots, particularly those of the Black-topped class, are the lack of differentiation between various parts of the vessels—bodies, shoulders, necks, and rims—and the absence of specialized elements such as handles or spouts. The shapes rely for their effect not on sharply demarcated surfaces, but on the uninterrupted

<sup>3</sup> A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 3rd ed., pp. 432-437.



curves of their profiles, these being frequently of considerable grace, as in the case of the beaker, 30-481.

The globular pot, 30-483 (Figures 1 and 2, D), though lacking any particular artistic merit, is of considerable archaeological interest because of its incised decoration. Upper Egyptian incised vessels of plain ware have, until recently, been somewhat neglected.<sup>4</sup> Incision occurs sporadically on southern Egyptian pottery throughout predynastic times, but seems to have characterized a considerable body of pottery in the Amratian period. Incised sherds occur in Amratian village remains at Hemamieh, Hierakonpolis, and Armant; a complete bowl with herring-bone incision is dated to the late part of the period.<sup>5</sup> The closest parallels for the Princeton pot are two undecorated vessels of similar globular shape<sup>6</sup> and vessels incised with comparable horizontal and vertical zigzags.<sup>7</sup> One of these is dated by Petrie to early Amratian and, when taken together with the evidence for the relatively frequent use of incision in that period, indicates an Amratian date for the Princeton example. It is a welcome addition to a still little-known group of pottery.

The remaining seven vessels of the Princeton collection belong to one of the most attractive classes of predynastic pottery. Next to the Black-topped, the second commonest group of care-

<sup>4</sup> E. J. Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt* I, pp. 95-100, discusses various types of incised and impressed pottery but, in the opinion of the present writer, confuses the issue by citing unrelated Asiatic pottery as prototypes for Egyptian finds and by dating the "herring-bone" incised pottery to early Gerzean rather than to an Amratian-transitional Gerzean range. The incised vessels referred to here are quite distinct from those of black ware with white-filled incisions occurring in Amratian and Gerzean (*Corpus*, pls. XXVI, XXVII).

<sup>5</sup> Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation and Predynastic Remains near Badari*, pls. LXXII, 120, 121; LXXIII, 147, 148; LXXXV, 211. The herring-bone pottery of Hemamieh village is contemporary with earthen hut circles ranging from Amratian to early Gerzean (made *circa* S.D. 35-45; completely disused *circa* S.D. 50). The herring-bone sherds are definitely earlier than the floruit of the Gerzean Decorated ware, a significant indication that they are primarily Amratian in date (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 83-85). *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pl. LXXXIII. R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant* I, pl. LIV, 44-54. Baumgartel, *op.cit.*, pl. VI, 6 = *Corpus*, pl. XXXIX, Rough 49 (Naqada, S.D. 36).

<sup>6</sup> *Corpus*, pl. XXXVIII, Rough 12a. Brunton, *Matmar*, pl. XIII, 8 (S.D. 36-43).

<sup>7</sup> *Corpus*, pl. XXXVI, Decorated 74B = Capart, *Les débuts de l'art en Égypte*, p. 123, fig. 90 (Diospolis). *Corpus*, pl. XXXVI, Decorated 76 (Ballas, Grave 394; S.D. 34; Petrie's date for this grave is here accepted; Baumgartel, *op.cit.*, p. 99, dates the incised pot considerably later).

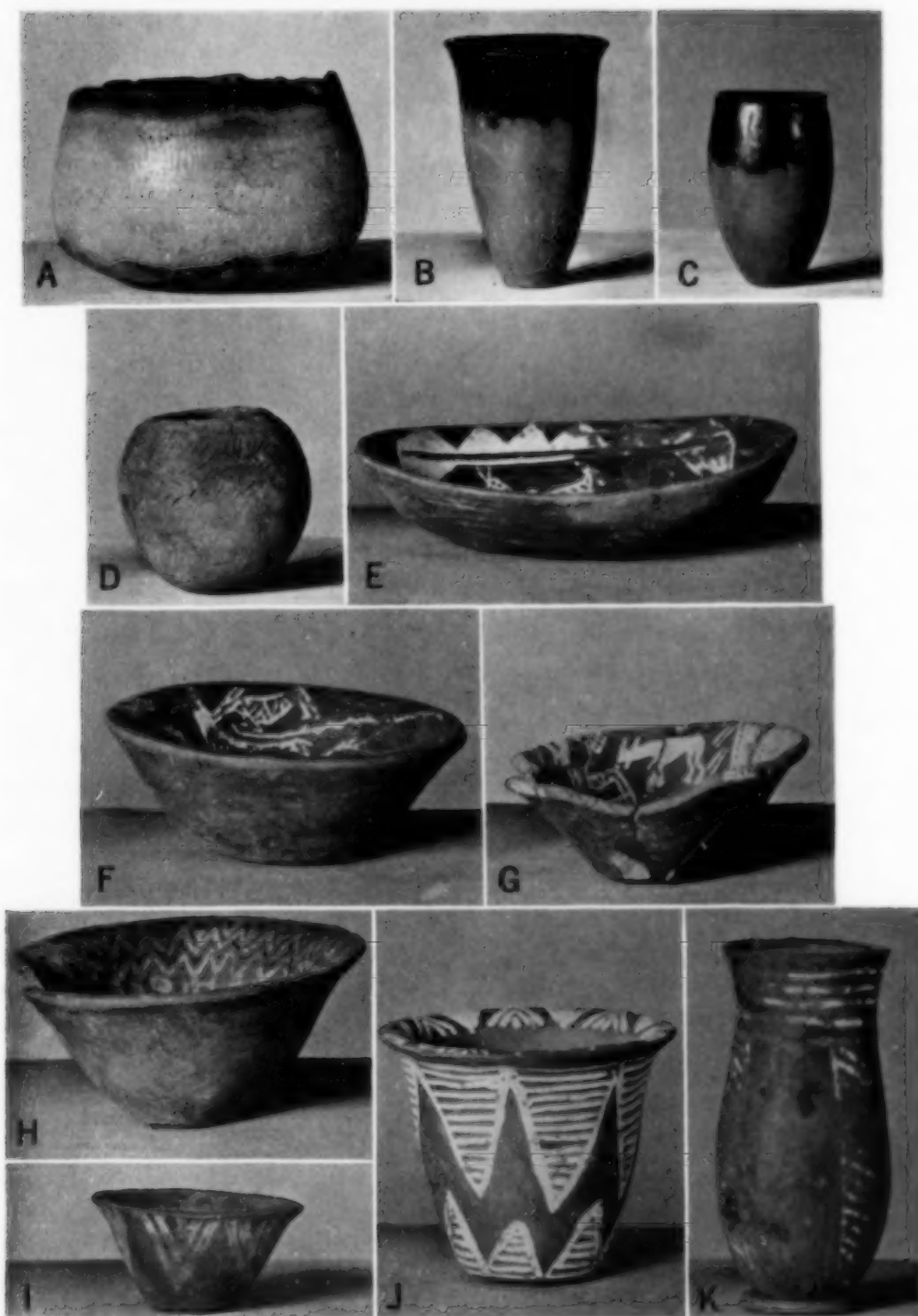


Fig. 1. Prehistoric Egyptian Pottery in Princeton

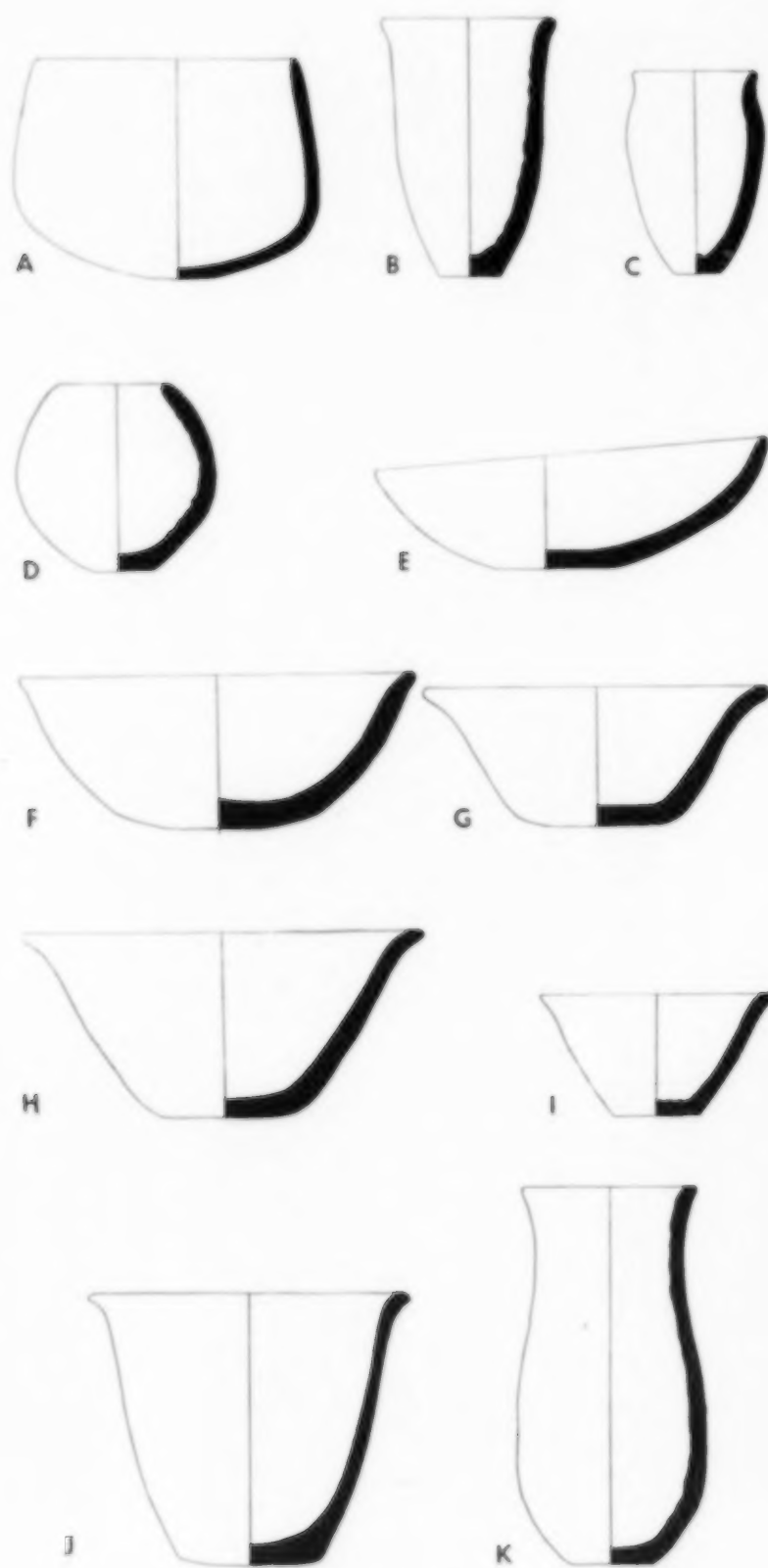


Fig. 2. Profiles of Pottery shown in Fig. 1

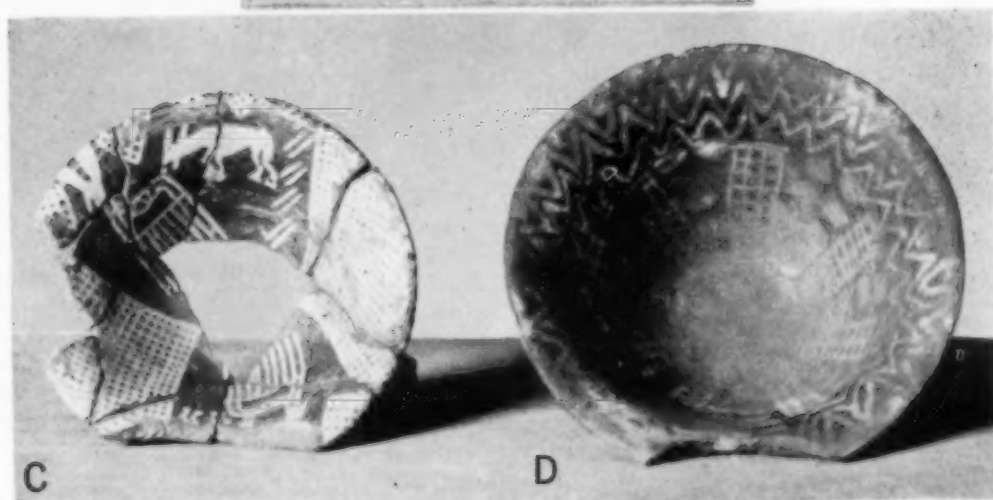
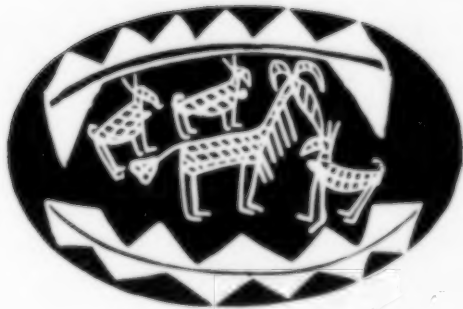


Fig. 3. Interior Views of Fig. 1, E-H



A



B



C



D



E

Fig. 4. Designs on "White cross-lined" Pottery





Fig. 5. "White cross-lined" Bowls in Princeton and Boston

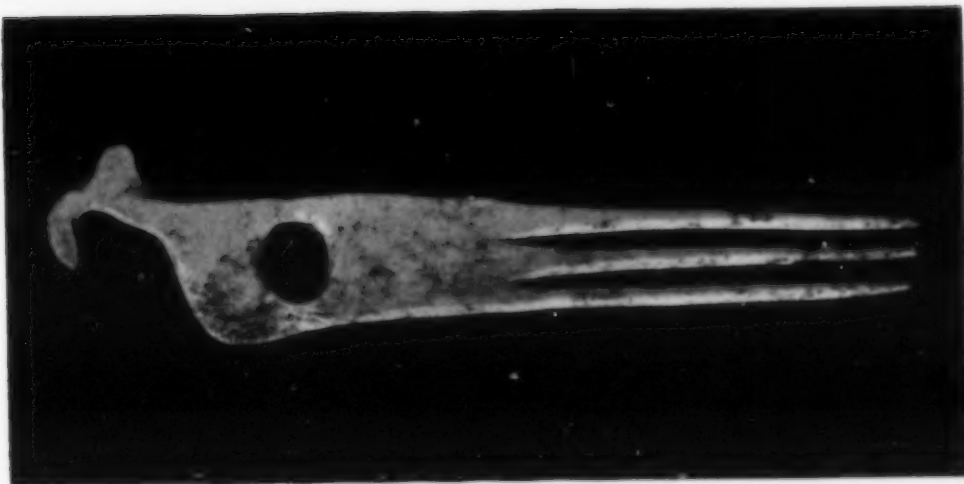
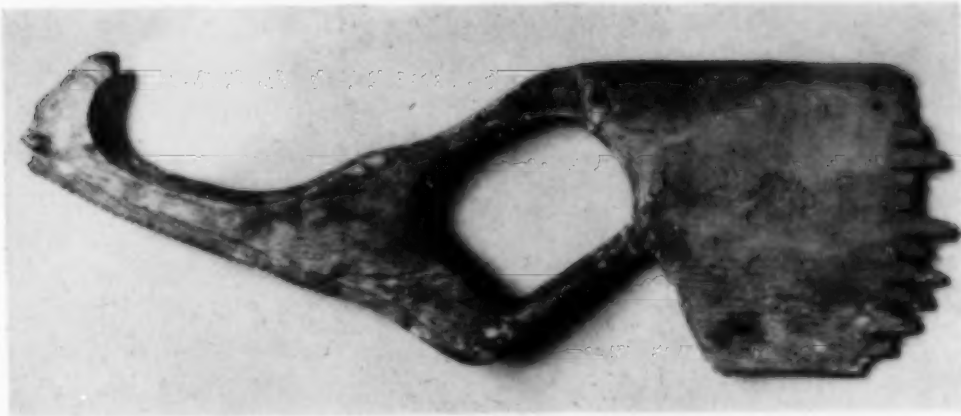
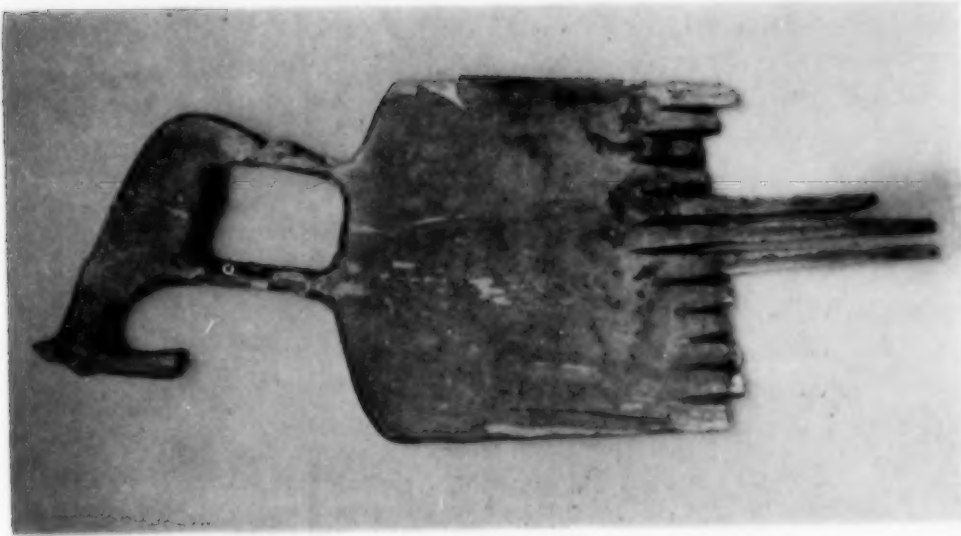


Fig. 6. Amratian Combs in Boston and New York

fully made pottery was the Polished-red class; its Nile mud ware, wet-smoothed or with haematite wash, is identical with that of the Black-topped class except for the omission of the second firing; thus the vessels remained all red. Bowls and a few other shapes of the Polished-red ware were sometimes decorated, constituting the class named by Petrie "White cross-lined" because of the paint and the distinctive hatching of many geometric and representational patterns (cf. Figures 3-4). Such painted vessels are much rarer than the Black-topped or Polished-red wares. Furthermore, while the latter were used commonly in both Amratian and Gerzean, the White cross-lined pottery is typical only of the Amratian period, being superseded in Gerzean by a quite different and considerably more stereotyped painted ware, the dark-on-light Decorated pottery.

The decoration of the Princeton White cross-lined vases exemplifies that of the class as a whole. The geometric motives are simple and almost exclusively rectilinear. To a certain extent these designs were used tectonically; on 30-480 (Figures 1 and 2, K) they distinguish the concave-sided top from the main part of the vessel; on 44-61 and 30-490 (Figures 1 and 2, I-J) they emphasize the height of the shapes. In the interior of bowl 30-492 (Figures 1-2, H; 3, D) circumference and radii respectively are suggested by lines of chevrons and the narrow cross-hatched rectangles and rows of dots placed below. However, the "composition" is awkwardly primitive, particularly when contrasted with the sophisticated solutions for the same type of problem created by prehistoric pot painters of western Asia.<sup>8</sup> The interest and genius of Amratian painters did not lie in the direction of abstract geometric art. Their most ambitious compositions are representational designs, as on bowls 30-491 and 30-493 (Figures 1-2, E-F; 3-4, A-B) and their counterparts. In such pieces the pot surfaces are merely a medium, a place for the representation, not a formative factor in the composition. White cross-lined vessels on which representational designs have been subordinated to decorative schemes are exceedingly rare.<sup>9</sup> Usually, figures are scattered irregularly over the surfaces. The artists' interest was centered on the

<sup>8</sup> H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement*, pls. II, A; L; and pp. 146-147.

<sup>9</sup> *Corpus*, pl. XXIII, C 49 E, C 49H. W. S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 3rd ed., p. 15, fig. 1.

pictures; despite the application of "abstract" hatching or chevrons to the bodies of animals, vivid natural details such as the stance of a head or the curve of a belly or tail, were felicitously conveyed, and this despite a great simplicity of draughtsmanship.

The figures on 30-493 (Figures 1-2, F; 3-4, B) are related by their juxtaposition, thus forming a "scene," though not one in the modern sense of rendering the appearance of a momentary tableau. A ruminant, large-eared but of uncertain species, is attacked by two dogs; the sharply curved bellies, long ears, and short curled tails of the latter prove them greyhounds, the same type of slughi dog so active in hunting scenes of the historical period. The pair of dogs is leashed to a long rope, held by a crudely delineated human figure; not all details are clear, but the figure may be wearing a long cod-piece and tail. Leashed dogs occur also on the Golenischeff bowl, where four are controlled by a hunter, armed with bow.<sup>10</sup> There are also parallels for the crude human figure.<sup>11</sup> Among the main motives of the bowl are scattered space-filling triangles and a leafy plant stem somewhat reminiscent of others found elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> A third dog attacks a ruminant, the head of which is destroyed, that is faced by a horned beast, perhaps a bubalis. 30-493 is a good analogy for the various previously known White cross-lined vessels with animal figures arrayed in disorderly compositions.<sup>13</sup>

Another hunting scene is found on the oval bowl, 30-491 (Figures 1-2, E; 3-4, A). An unfortunate moufflon, distinguished as such by its horns, is surrounded by three hunting dogs, again slughis. No man appears in the "scene," but the bell hanging from the neck of each dog hints at his presence offstage. Like the dogs, also belled, of the Golenischeff bowl, these are trained animals, hunting not for themselves, but for their human master. Extraordinarily close parallels for this painting occur on three vessels excavated at Naqada and decorated by dogs and their prey (Figure 4, C-E). The composition on one of

<sup>10</sup> *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* LXI, 1926, pl. II, 2 (Golenischeff collection, Number 2947).

<sup>11</sup> J. Garstang, *Mahasna and Bêt Khallâf*, pl. III, top right (= *Corpus*, pl. XX, C 5S). *Corpus*, pl. LXI, C 100H (Mahasnah). *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Danemark I*, pl. VII, 10 (Copenhagen, Musée nationale; no provenience).

<sup>12</sup> *Corpus*, pl. XXIV, C 76.R.W.

<sup>13</sup> G. Steindorff, *Die Kunst der Ägypter*, p. 265, a. *Corpus*, pl. XXV, C 98D, C 98N.



the Naqada vessels, a round bowl (Figure 4, E) is practically identical with ours; there appear the same central moufflon, the same long heads with down-curving snouts, the same kind of hatching on the bodies, and an unusual border design, the last occurring only on the Princeton and the three Naqada vases. So closely related is the decoration of these four vessels that they could well be claimed as the work of a single painter, save that the rather simple character and technique of the White cross-lined style make such suppositions dangerous.

At first glance the last Princeton bowl, 30-494 (Figures 1-2, G; 3, C; 5, A), seems likewise to be painted with a ruminant—a beast shaped like the mysterious, much discussed Set animal<sup>13a</sup>—attacked by a dog. But a second look shows that the victim is peculiarly drawn; it is small and its four legs rest upon a horizontal line with long projecting teeth. Here is no naturalistic animal, but—highly unexpected and amazing—the picture of a long-tined comb with top in the form of an animal. Comparison of the Princeton design with extant combs leaves no doubt as to its identity. A number of examples have been found. They are typical Amratian objects, ranging in quality from simply-cut pieces such as that from Nag el Hai (Figure 6, A) to subtly stylized and carved combs like two in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 6, B-C).<sup>14</sup> There is even one comb decorated with an ibex on the body of which has been incised a zigzag exactly comparable to the painted zigzag of the Princeton comb animal (Figure 7). These Amratian combs were used not only to tend the hair, but also, with the long tines thrust into the locks, as adornment, a custom that continued into the succeeding period. A head with hair still preserved found at Abadiyeh proves that in Gerzean long-stemmed

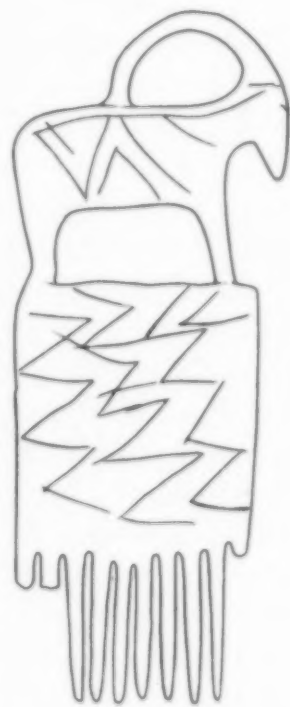


Fig. 7. Amratian Comb

<sup>13a</sup> Cf. Keimer, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* XXXV, 1935, p. 170, for bibliography; Labib Habachi, *ibid.* XXXIX, 1939, pp. 770-772 for probable example on a First Dynasty painted pot from Abydos.

<sup>14</sup> Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. LXIII, 59, 60, 63. Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. XL, 14. Brunton, *Matmar*, pl. XVI, 6. Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1910-1911*, pl. XX, c.



pins and combs, the descendants of Amratian types, were used in this manner.<sup>15</sup>

The comb design of the Princeton bowl is not unique; one other such representation is known to me, on a bowl from Mesaeed, now in Boston (Figure 5, B). There, as on the Princeton bowl, the comb pattern appears twice, being the main motive filling the spaces between large cross-hatched triangles. In both cases groups of short diagonal lines form borders. The Mesaeed combs are represented somewhat differently from those of 30-494, since the animals are legless, their bodies running directly into the tines. But there is a more important difference between the two compositions; on the Mesaeed bowl the combs are the only motive of the panels; on the Princeton vessel each is accompanied by a biting dog which quite disregards the inanimate nature of its prey. Furthermore, these dogs are not drawn in any normal Amratian fashion. In their solid body color, in their outline, and in the frivolous squiggle of their legs, they are exactly like animals of the dark-on-light Decorated pottery of Gerzean.<sup>16</sup> Here is a seemingly impossible circumstance, the appearance on an Amratian bowl of an animal executed in the later Decorated style, a circumstance which demands a short archaeological digression.

There is no sharp demarcation line between Amratian and Gerzean, but rather a period of gradual change; old fashioned types of objects did not necessarily die out at the moment when the new types which were to supersede them were introduced. There is evidence that the White cross-lined and Decorated styles overlapped. At Badari and Mostagedda, Brunton found White cross-lined vessels in five graves which are either dated to Gerzean or have a range of Late Amratian to Early Gerzean.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. VI, B 378 (S.D. 52).

<sup>16</sup> *Corpus*, pl. XXXIV, Decorated 47B, 47C, 47M. E. Naville, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, Part I, 1904-1910, pl. V, E 340 (S.D. 57-66). Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt* I, pl. IX, 3 (Naqada; S.D. 52). Animals with bodies painted solidly white do occur occasionally on the White-cross-lined ware, as in the case of the dogs on the Golenischeff bowl (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* LXI, 1926, pl. II, 2); these dogs, drawn with exceptional realism, have paws rendered by wiggly lines, but these are not comparable to the knock-kneed legs of the dogs on 30-494.

<sup>17</sup> Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation*, pl. XXVIII, C 16m (Grave 3828; S.D. 44), C 17n (Grave 3826; S.D. 45-57?), C 25 f and 44 t (Town hole 2074; S.D. 34-45), C 70K (Grave 3802; probable range: S.D. 37-38;

On the other hand, Petrie quoted isolated examples of Decorated vases in graves of the Amratian period<sup>18</sup> and there are two instances in which designs of White cross-lined type were executed in dark paint on a light ground, a technique analogous to that of the Decorated ware.<sup>19</sup> Such finds strongly suggest that the two styles of painted pottery were for a time, perhaps a brief one,<sup>20</sup> produced contemporaneously, thus providing opportunity for such a combination of features as on Princeton 30-494. This bowl can be, provisionally at least, assigned to a transitional Amratian-Gerzean phase. It may well be later than the bowl from Mesaeed; the inappropriate action of the dog in biting the decorative animal of the comb-top as if it were an independent creature gives the Princeton composition a rather secondary character in contrast to that on the Mesaeed vessel.

The people of the Amratian period, though they were both agriculturalists and cattle keepers, seem to have found in the wild African fauna and in the hunt the most evocative subjects for decorative use. Wild animals appear as the handles or heads of combs and pins, or were modeled in the round on the rims of pots. Slate palettes were carved in the form of hippopotami, elephants, and deer, as well as birds and fish. Aside from a few exceptional themes involving only human be-

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possible range: S.D. 37-43). Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. XXXIV, 28 (Grave 1825; S.D. 37-45).

<sup>18</sup> Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, p. 16 and Baumgartel, *op.cit.*, pp. 30ff. The vases in question are: *Corpus*, pls. XXXI, D 10G (Naqada 1440; S.D. 31), D 13W (Naqada 1766; S.D. 31); XXXII, D 29A (Naqada 1426; S.D. 37); XXXVI, D 63C (S.D. 36-41), D 69a (S.D. 39).

<sup>19</sup> Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation*, pl. XL, D 72K (Grave 1649; S.D. 31-34[?]). *Corpus*, pl. XXXVI, D 72 = Baumgartel, *op.cit.*, pl. VI, 11 (Naqada 273; S.D. 32). Baumgartel (*op.cit.*, p. 32) indicates that the Decorated ship motive painted in white on an Amratian jar (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XIV, 1928, pl. XXVI [British Museum 53881]) is a modern forgery, so that the dog on Princeton 30-491 is apparently the only rendering of a Gerzean motive in White cross-lined technique.

<sup>20</sup> The occurrence of two Decorated vases in graves dated by Petrie to Sequence Date 31 (cf. note 18 above) is evidence contradicting such a supposition. However, reexamination of the contents of these graves in view of subsequently excavated material might result in a later date or range for them. The two vessels cited in Note 19 are not quite as damaging evidence, since in their case we have normal White cross-lined designs in an aberrant dark-on-light technique, which might perhaps be explained as isolated experimentation rather than as imitation of Decorated pottery.

ings,<sup>21</sup> the scenes painted on pottery show animals either scattered over the surface or menaced by the hunt. Such a repertory contrasts sharply with that of the succeeding Gerzean period; at that time a variety of elaborate themes were rendered, not only the hunt, now elaborately organized, but boating scenes and human strife. In contrast the world of the Amratians, as reflected in their decorative art, seems much simpler, one in which the chase and perhaps an occasional ritual dance provided the themes most stimulating to the imagination. In such a repertory it is startling to find suddenly among the motives a small domestic appurtenance. Some might perhaps seek a symbolic explanation for its appearance, but no evidence for such an interpretation exists. Rather, the combs, attractive in themselves and decorated with the same kind of animal motives favored by the vase painters, must have captured the fancy of some potters. The other manufactured objects shown on White cross-lined pottery, ships and a loom,<sup>22</sup> are large or parts of scenes, and thus do not form analogies for the depiction of the combs. Indeed, the pot painters' selection of a small decorated object made in another technique as a motive stands out as a sophisticated procedure, probably as sophisticated in the field of representational art as the geometric compositions on western Asiatic pots are in the field of abstract decorative art.

The Princeton White cross-lined vessels and that ware in general, the earliest painted ware of Egypt, already epitomize many dominant features of the art of historical times. The traditional indigenous geometric designs of later Egypt are rectilinear, as were the simple patterns of the White cross-lined pottery. Most of the ambitious efforts of Amratian painters were pictorial "scenes," portrayed without consideration for tectonic or decorative composition, and they thus reveal even at this early stage that bias toward a primarily representational art which was a key character of later Egyptian painting and relief.

<sup>21</sup> *Corpus*, pl. XXV, C 100M. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XIV, 1928, pl. XXVIII (Brussels, Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire). Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation*, pl. XXXVIII, C 70K.

<sup>22</sup> *Corpus*, pl. XXIII, C70M; Jacques de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* I, pl. II, 5 (Gebelein); L. Keimer, "Vases de Khazam," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* XXXV, 1935, pl. II, a.

The Princeton and Mesaced bowls with representations of combs are also in their way prophetic. The interest which their makers took in reproducing a small implement used in daily life is premonitory of the intense and loving delight with which all sorts of objects—furniture, tools, ornaments, clothing, and the like—were represented by painters and carvers of historical Egypt. Though religious and social reasons may have necessitated the setting-forth on tomb or coffin walls of row upon row of objects, it was only through their devoted interest that artists could produce works such as the paintings in the tomb of Hesire of the Third Dynasty, in the tombs of Qenamun and Rekhmire in the Eighteenth, and in the coffin of Djehutynekht of the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>23</sup> The germs of the tradition by which routine friezes of objects were transmuted into gay still-lives can be traced far back into prehistoric times, to such designs as these combs on White cross-lined bowls.

Helene J. Kantor

<sup>23</sup> J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1911-1912: The Tomb of Hesir*. N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, pls. XV-XXIV. N. de G. Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re' at Thebes*, pls. IX, XIII. D. Dunham and W. S. Smith, "A Middle Kingdom Painted Coffin from Deir el Bersheh," *Scritti in onore di Ippolito Rosellini* I, pls. XXI-XXVII.

#### *Sources of the Illustrations*

##### *Figures 1 and 2: Predynastic Egyptian Pottery in Princeton*

Information is listed as follows: museum number; size; provenience if recorded; class of pottery; date; parallels.

- A. 30-482. H., 0.09 m.; D., 0.135 m. Badari. Black-topped brown ware. Badarian. Cf. Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation*, Pl. XIII, 71H (other similar shapes *ibid.*, and Pl. XIV); Brunton, *Mostagedda*, Pls. XV, Black-topped brown 71C, 71D; XVII, Black-topped red 34B, 41H.
- B. 30-481. H., 0.105 m. Gebelein. Black-topped ware. Amratian-Gerzean. Cf. *Corpus*, Pl. IV, B 26a (S.D. 31-50, 69), 26b (S.D. 31-51).
- C. 44-60. H., 0.083 m.; D., 0.054 m. Black-topped ware. Amratian-Gerzean. Cf. *Corpus*, Pl. VII, B 78C (S.D. 39-43, 45), B 72b (S.D. 35-51), B 74c (S.D. 33-55, 73), B 76 (S.D. 31-61, 75).
- D. 30-483. H., 0.078 m.; D., 0.08 m. Rough ware; incised decoration: near mouth zigzag between two horizontal lines; below irregular vertical zigzags. Amratian. Cf. text for parallels.
- E. 30-491. H., 0.055 m.; D., 0.198 m. Gebelein. White cross-lined ware. Amratian. For shape cf. *Corpus*, Pl. XV, Fancy 15D (Naqada 1817; S.D. 36). For decoration cf. text.
- F. 30-493. H., 0.062 m.; D., 0.157 m. Gebelein. White cross-lined ware. Amratian. For shape cf. *Corpus*, Pls. XX, C 10E, 10N (S.D. 31); XXI, C 16B. For decoration cf. text.
- G. 30-494. D., 0.135 m. Gebelein. White cross-lined ware. *Ca.* end of Amratian. For shape cf. *Corpus*, Pl. XXII, C 39B. For decoration cf. text.



- H. 30-492. H., 0.075 m.; D., 0.163 m. Gebelein. White cross-lined ware. Amratian. For shape cf. *Corpus*, Pls. XXI, C 30D; XXII, C 32. For zigzags cf. *Corpus*, Pl. XXIII, C 50; Quibell, *Archaic Objects (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, Pl. XX, 11513 (Sahel el Baghlich); Mond and Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant I*, Pl. XXVIII, C 471 (purchased). For cross-hatched rectangles cf. *Corpus*, Pl. XXIII, C 76M; T. E. Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, Part II:1911-1912, Pl. IV, 5; Cooney, *Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum Collection*, No. 6 (Mamariya, Grave 21); *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XIV, 1928, Pl. XXIV, 4 (British Museum 58192; no provenience). For dots cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XXV, 1 (British Museum 57523; Qau el Kebir); Cooney, *op.cit.*, No. 6.
- I. 44-61. H., 0.05 m.; D., 0.09 m. White cross-lined ware. Amratian. For shape cf. *Corpus*, Pl. XXII, C 42H, C 43B. For hatched triangles cf. *Corpus*, Pl. XXIII, C 64H; *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XIX, 1933, Pl. XI, 2 (Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.182.15).
- J. 30-490. H., 0.11 m.; D., 0.13 m. Gebelein. White cross-lined ware. Amratian. For shape cf. *Corpus*, Pl. XXIII, C 53. For alternating triangles cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XXIII, C 64B, C 64U. For hatched triangles cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XXV, C 100M.
- K. 30-480. H., 0.153 m. White cross-lined ware. Amratian. For shape cf. *Corpus*, Pl. XXIV, C 75N. For lines at mouth cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XXIV, C 76M. On modern support.

Figure 3: cf. Figures 1-2, E-H

Figure 4: Designs on White cross-lined Vessels

- A. Princeton 30-493. Not facsimile; plant foreshortened, spacing too wide between elements on lower border.
- B. Princeton 30-491. Lower border of triangles distorted by perspective.
- C. From Naqada. *Corpus*, pl. XXV, C 92, and Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. VIII, 4, 5 (Grave 1644; S.D. 32; H., circa 0.249 m.).
- D. From Naqada. *Corpus*, pl. XXV, C 91 (H., circa 0.228 m.).
- E. From Naqada. *Ibid.*, pl. XXV, C 93M (D., circa 0.219 m.).

Figure 5: White cross-lined Bowls with Comb Designs

- A. Princeton 30-494.
- B. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.3935. Mesaeed, Grave 763. H., 0.071 m.; D. at top, 0.158 m.; average thickness, 0.008 m. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts.

Figure 6: Amratian Combs

- A. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.3509. Naga el Hai, Grave K 495. Ivory. H., 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.0045 m. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts.
- B. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.2.5. Wood. H., 0.19 m. W., 0.062 m. No provenience. W. C. Hayes, *The Sceptre of Egypt I*, p. 21. Reproduced through the courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.2.2. Wood. H., 0.162 m. W., 0.064 m. No provenience. Hayes, *loc. cit.* Reproduced through the courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 7: Amratian Comb with Incised Zigzags

- G. Bénédict, *Objets de toilette*, 1<sup>re</sup> partie (*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*), pl. VI, 44.322 (wood; purchased at Qurneh; H., 0.177 m.).



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